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THE FRENCH CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY

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Description

A study of the emergence of the Consultative Assembly as a quasi-legislative body. Particular emphasis is placed upon the political background of Assembly members, and upon the topics debated during the Algiers sessions.

1 September 1944

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Summary

1. The membership of the Consultative Assembly derives from four sources: Metropolitan Resistance; Extra-Metropolitan Resistance; reconstituted political parties; and the General Councils. Although many of its members were politically inconspicuous before the war, the Assembly has been able to broaden its functions considerably and to enter France after liberation virtually as a legislature.

2. On the whole, the Assembly tends toward the Left, with the Socialist Party numerically predominant. The four primary groupings to date have been: Socialists; Republican-Democratic Left; Resistance Independents; and Communists. A permanent executive committee, and eleven standing committees have been established to facilitate Assembly procedure.

3. Among the main topics considered by the Assembly have been: budgetary problems; help to Resistance; the purge; colonial policy; national defense; and the organization of a new government for liberated France. Despite occasional friction between the FCNL and the Assembly, general agreement has been reached on these subjects.

4. As Algiers authorities move into France, the degree to which the Assembly reflects Metropolitan opinion will be tested. The significance of the Consultative Assembly so far has been primarily as a step in the re-establishment of democratic institutions in France.

THE FRENCH CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY

I. INTRODUCTION

The original function of the Consultative Assembly is implicit in its title. It was established by decree on 23 September 1943 for the purpose of giving advice to the French Committee of National Liberation (FCNL).[1] Questions are referred to it by the FCNL or submitted on the initiative of two-thirds of its members. On two types of question, its opinion is mandatory: those which relate to the budget, and those which concern important public loans. Projects treating of the provisional government for liberated France have been discussed extensively in the Assembly, although the FCNL has had final jurisdiction in this field.

In the concluding months of 1943 and early in 1944, relations between the Committee and the Assembly underwent a profound change. Although the two bodies continued to deal with one another along generally friendly lines, the authority and prestige of the Assembly unquestionably increased. The Assembly developed a certain detachment in regard to the Committee; friction resulted at intervals.

Members of the FCNL are given varied receptions by the Assembly. François de Menthon and André Philip, for example, appear sometimes to have been received coldly; Le Troquer, Jacquinot and Mendès-France, on the other hand, seem to enjoy more influence and popularity.

General de Gaulle's prestige and personal authority have never been at stake in the Assembly. Most of the members respect and support the FCNL's President. De Gaulle has appeared several times before the Assembly, both on formal occasions and under special circumstances.[1] He did not, however, take part in the more important debates on the budget, the purge, or the future government of France.[2]

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[1] Plans for an Assembly had been discussed extensively prior to the formation of the FCNL on 6 June 1943. Modifications in Assembly procedure were made in decrees dated 15 October and 6 December 1943.

The Consultative Assembly is now planning (August 1944) to leave Algiers for the Metropole. In view of this fact, the functions, membership, attitudes and program of the Assembly become of particular significance. It is the purpose of this paper, therefore, to consider these topics as reflected in Assembly sessions to date, and to suggest the possible future alignment of Assembly elements in relation both to the FCNL and to traditional French political parties.

II. MEMBERSHIP OF THE ASSEMBLY

One of the variables of the French Consultative Assembly has been its size. According to the decree by which it was established,[3] the Assembly was to include eighty-four members: forty representatives of Metropolitan Resistance, twelve representatives of the former Extra-Metropolitan Resistance, twenty representatives of reconstituted political parties, and twelve representatives of the general councils in North Africa.[1] Dual identification is possible; some ex-parliamentarians sit as Resistance delegates; some prominent Resistants are classified with the reconstituted parties. The total membership has been increased several times up to the present figure of one hundred and four. Ninety-two or ninety-three of the members chosen have been able to reach Algiers.

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[1] Two examples of such special circumstances were the Lebanese crisis (November 1943), and the debates on foreign policy.

[2] Analytical summaries of the debates in the Assembly are published in the Supplément au Journal Officiel de la République Francaise, which also gives the written questions asked by members of the Assembly, and the oral answers made by the FCNL. These analytical summaries which appear regularly unless the Assembly decides otherwise by special vote or unless the Committee or Board makes a particular request, are not a complete stenographic record of the proceedings. The summaries give, however, a fairly accurate picture of the debates.

[3] Journal Officiel de la République Francaise, October 1943. Ordinance of 23 September 1943, Article 3.

The names of most of the members of the Consultative Assembly are available here.[2] Comparatively little is known about the methods employed in selecting the delegates. This is particularly true of the delegates sent by the National Council of French Resistance. Information available in this case is summed up in a report made in January:

> ...it is certain that the nominations of the delegates representing Metropolitan Resistance, which constitute the controlling bloc in the Consultative Assembly, were not controlled by de Gaulle or the FCNL. Resistance delegates came to Algiers with instructions to the effect that the immediate tasks of the Consultative Assembly were (1) the subordination of the military to the civil authority; (2) the designation of one head of the government within the FCNL; (3) the purge of both military and political *cadres*.[3]

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[1] See Tables below.

[2] Appendix I lists the known members of the Assembly, and classifies them according to the bodies or groups they represent. Their political, social, and professional backgrounds are also indicated, as well as the committees to which they belong in the Assembly. Appendix II lists the supplementary members.

[3] *Survey of French Underground Movements*, R & A No. 1697, 28 January 1944, p. 4.

In order to evaluate adequately the members of the Consultative Assembly, it is necessary to consider their predominant political coloration. The Leftist tendency of the Assembly has been apparent since its inception. The fact that the Right is out-numbered has been noted unfavorably by some critics, as, for example, Pour la Victoire, one of the two French weeklies published in New York. There are, of course, several Assemblymen who speak for the Right, either as former Parliamentarians or as representatives of the more conservative elements in Resistance. Paul Antier is said to have been designated by Louis Marin, leader of the Rightist Union Républicaine Démocratique (URD).[1] Henri d'Astier de la Vigerie is presumably a Royalist. Jacques Dalsace is described as an extreme Rightist. Joseph Serda, who has written in the anti-Gaullist L'Echo d'Alger and who has taken a consistently conservative stand, was expelled by the Assembly in July 1944.[2]

The fact that Louis Marin is now outside France is one of the few bulwarks for Rightist interests in the Assembly. Marin's unquestioned patriotism and his impeccable record since 1940 give him added prestige. The Right, however, in consequence of its lack of numerical support in pre-Armistice France, its weakness in the Assembly, and the fact that many of its leaders have been identified with Vichy, plays a subordinate rôle in Algiers decisions.

According to a report received on 20 December 1943, it is the opinion of some deputies that "The Assembly is overloaded with people who came out of France for comfort's sake

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1. Antier was formerly a member of the quasi-totalitarian Groupe Agraire. Marin is in London (May 1944).
2. Special R & A Report, 28 July 1944.

and not because they were delegated to represent any part of Resistance."[1] A further breakdown is suggested in the fact that from the forty-odd delegates of French Resistance, there developed a new aristocracy composed of the "eight real ones." Among these was the late Jacques Médéric, who committed suicide while under German questioning.

Whereas little is known about the method of selection employed in regard to Assemblymen chosen from Metropolitan France, more information is available concerning those delegates sent from Extra-Metropolitan Resistance. Here, too, there has been criticism: Pour la Victoire fought the appointment of Henri Torres, former deputy, on the grounds that he was not representative of French Resistance in the United States. Francis Perrin was finally chosen. Uneasiness as to the qualifications of Assembly members has been shown by M. Bordier, who suggested that complete reports on Extra-Metropolitan delegates be drawn up, these reports to stress individual contributions to the French war effort and to be pre-requisite to admission to the Assembly.[2]

Aside from the question of selection, it is possible to group Assembly members in terms of party affiliation, trade union participation, and previous political activity. This is a fairly simple task insofar as former senators, deputies, General Councillors or syndicalistes are concerned. Delegates of pure Resistance, however, are frequently hard to identify in this respect. Some, such as Vallon or Costa, were connected with a pre-war party; others, whose political sympathies were less definite, are more difficult to classify.

During May 1944, party alignments in the Assembly clarified. The lines between groups remain fluid and party discipline (except among the Communists) is still fairly loose.

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1. Confidential Source, 1943.
2. France, 10 February 1944.

Four organized and vocal groups, however, have emerged. Two of these, the Socialists and the Communists, stem directly from their pre-war roots, although supplemented and strengthened by their record in Resistance. The two other groups are composed of conservative and moderate Left elements related both to Resistance and to parallel political parties under the Third Republic.

The four main groups comprise:

a) Communists (10 delegates). This closely-knit, active group is of greater significance than its numbers indicate. Since Grenier and Billoux joined the Government (1 April 1944), the calibre of Communist leadership has fallen. Marty, although inactive in debate, retains his rôle as political mentor. Communist policy plays down revolution, stresses patriotic unity. Their social policy remains ill-defined. During recent months, Communist relations with the Socialist group have improved markedly.

b) Socialists (20 delegates). The Socialists remain the strongest party in the Assembly, but are able to muster their strength only on critical issues. The lack of unity is explained partially by the weak leadership of parliamentarians Vincent Auriol and Jules Moch. Among the Resistance delegates, however, they form the largest single group.

c) Republican-Democratic Left (11 delegates). This new group, headed by the former Radical-Socialist Marc Rucart, was formed in protest against the plan for provisional government which the Assembly passed in March.[1] It reflects Radical-Socialist and "moderate" (Parliamentary Right) views, and has strong colonial support. Its slight connection with Resistance and its emphasis on strict legality will probably make it the weakest of the four groups after liberation.

d) Resistance Independents (17 delegates). The Independents resemble the Republican-Democratic Left in their conservatism, but differ in opposing traditionalism. Under the leadership of Hauriou, they criticize both the Third Republic and its political leaders; they stress vaguely collectivist social ideas, Catholicism, the need for internal unity, and loyalty to de Gaulle. If the Independents remain cohesive, they may possess considerable post-war significance.

In addition to the four groups named, there are numerous unaffiliated delegates of various political tendencies.[2]

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[1] See pp. 16 - 21, below.

[2] Secret Source, May 1944.

In large part, the Consultative Assembly represents and speaks for the various Resistance organizations which have developed within France. It is, therefore, essential to consider the characteristics of Resistance. A brief summary of the position and attitudes of the leading Underground movements follows:

1. *Combat*. This is primarily a movement of the patriotic Right, with religious and military tendencies. Although it includes Socialists and former Socialists, *Combat* appears to distrust the far Left, and is highly nationalist in tone.

2. *Libération*. This organization is more homogeneous than *Combat*, and more to the Left. Its original leadership included members of trade unions, Socialists, and Radical-Socialists. Less sympathetic toward the Army than *Combat*, it has maintained closer relations with the political parties than has the latter group. *Libération* reflects the ideology of international liberalism.

3. *Franc Tireur*. *Franc Tireur* is said to have a miscellaneous following, including trade unionists, Socialists, and middle-class democrats. It is closely affiliated with the old Radical-Socialist party, and supposed to have maintained contact with parliamentarians such as Herriot.

4. *Ceux de la Résistance*. This group regards all pre-war parties as discredited. It would prefer to see the future régime of France predicated upon Catholic theories of corporative Socialism. It urges "a certain authoritarianism" as necessary to prevent civil war, but does not favor a military dictatorship. Support of de Gaulle is one of its basic premises.

5. *Ceux de la Libération*. Although this organization has sometimes been described as related to *Franc Tireur*, its component parts are not well-known.

6. *Organisation Civile et Militaire* (OCM). The OCM centers around ex-officers of the French Army who have contacts in business, professional, and government circles. The Deuxième Bureau is supposed to have assumed the direction of its clandestine activity. Its members may be Rightist, even Fascist or Monarchist in tendency. They are inclined to avoid political judgment of Vichy on the grounds that the enemy is Germany and that opposition to Vichy tends to distract attention from the main issue. The OCM at first favored Giraud rather than de Gaulle.

7. *Front National de Lutte pour l'Indépendance de la France*. The *Front National* was launched under Communist Auspices. It apparently is Communist-controlled in the sense that its organization is

> dependent upon the cooperation of the Communists. It is said, however, to include many non-Communist members.

The several Resistance organizations have attempted to correlate their activities, particularly in the South Zone. The Mouvements Unis de la Résistance (MUR), and the Mouvements de Libération Nationale (MLN), are examples of this desire for fusion, as are the various Departmental Liberation Committees. More important is the National Council of Resistance, coordinating body for Metropolitan Resistance as a whole. The National Council embraces representatives from reconstituted political parties, and from trade unions, as well as from Resistance itself.

The trends of Resistance have not always been clear. Resistance members within the Assembly were faced with a choice: to limit their activities to the war effort, the purge, and help to the French Underground or to concentrate on broader and more enduring political and economic problems. Adoption of the latter course involved definite political affiliations either with the old political parties or with new groups. M. Bordier, writing in Fraternité, stated that Resistance should play a rôle of unification among political parties.[1] He added that it was too ambitious for Resistance to believe that it could achieve its destiny without the help of political parties. M. Jean-Jacques, a member of Franc Tireur, wrote in Combat:

> Resistance is more and less than a political party. What unites the Resistants is their common desire to solve the problems of national rebirth in a spirit of tolerance and of mutual understanding. Perhaps they will have to join, according to their individual affinities, those large social bodies which are called political parties.[2]

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[1] France, 5 February 1944.

[2] Combat, 5 December 1943; French Press and Information Service, Document Series II, p. 45, 15 December 1943.

Aside from their actual relationship with political parties, the members of the Assembly can be classified by occupation. The professional element (lawyers, doctors, etc.) is of less significance than in the normal pre-war French Parliament, although many professionals are included among the Parliamentarians in Algiers. On the whole, intellectuals, trade unionists, middle-class technicians or civil servants are the conspicuous figures in the new Assembly.

On the other hand, farmers and industrialists are almost completely absent. M. Antier, whose Groupe Agraire affiliations were mentioned above,[1] recently warned his colleagues that although farmers are not heard from in the Assembly, their voice is highly significant in France. It is doubtful, however, whether French farmers would support the interests represented in the Groupe Agraire. As for the industrialists, those who collaborated are by that token discredited and presumably cut off from post-liberation political activity; those who did not collaborate may be expected to play a significant part in post-war readjustment. Complaints about the numerical exclusion of industrialists from the Assembly are paralleled by reports of their influence being felt extensively elsewhere in Algiers.

Membership in the Assembly has not been open to certain Frenchmen. Those disqualified fall into several categories:

a. Members and former members of the governments which have been appointed in France since 17 June 1940.

b. People elected to public office, functionaries and civil servants of all types who proved to be collaborationists or supported Vichy's domestic policy.

c. Members of the French Parliament "who gave up their mandate by delegating constitutional powers to Philippe Pétain on 10 July 1940."

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[1] See p. 4.

d. Those who had accepted from the so-called Gouvernement de l'Etat Français either an executive function, a seat as National Councillor, or an appointment as Departmental Councillor.

Those listed under "c" and "d" above, however, were not absolutely disqualified. If they could prove direct and active participation in Resistance, and have their records confirmed by decision of the National Council of Resistance, a measure of rehabilitation would be permitted.

To conclude, the political configuration of the Assembly, as far as is known, is Leftist, with the Socialist party predominating.[1] According to France, delegates of Resistance who do not remain non-partisan are lining up behind the Socialist party. Vincent Auriol has expressed fear that the Socialist party is assuming too prominent a rôle in the Assembly.[2] The lack of representation of the Right in the Assembly has two main explanations: the fact that only the left-wing parties had popular support before the war, and the fact that most of the Rightist members voted for Pétain in 1940, thus disqualifying themselves automatically.

The membership of the Assembly, therefore, possessing a fair degree of cohesion, may be expected to advocate a moderately Leftist constitution for France and sponsor a program of political, social and economic democracy. In this respect, its aims do not differ from the policies expressed by de Gaulle and the Committee.

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[1] It is too early to evaluate the permanent significance of the new Republican-Democratic Left. (See p. 6, above).

[2] Although the Communists are not unpopular in Algiers, the appeal of the Socialists among Resistance is undoubtedly the strongest. Billoux wrote, in the Communist paper Liberté, that the major, if not only, issue at present is to win the war. The Socialist paper, Fraternité, has expressed a more ambitious program. Auriol and Moch are engaged in post-war planning as well as in actual war work.

III. ORGANIZATION AND DUTIES

The widening of the sphere of activity of the Consultative Assembly has been almost inevitable. Although time of national stress normally forces a measure of authoritarianism upon even the most democratic countries, a nation in which democracy is so firmly embedded as it has long been in France may be expected to swing quickly back to its familiar political pattern once the opportunity is given. Most of the French have been, and continue to be, apprehensive of executive domination; just as they have been and continue to be desirous of broadly representative government.

There have been, it is true, quarrels between various individuals and various groups in French governmental circles in Algiers. Many plans put forth within the Assembly, as well as some of those suggested by the FCNL and de Gaulle, are not entirely disinterested. On the whole, however, the relations within and between the various political units in Algiers suggest that France has survived the shock of defeat, and is on the road back to independent national existence.

According to its fundamental law, the Consultative Assembly meets every two months, starting the first Tuesday of each month, for a one-week ordinary session. At the request of two-thirds of its members, it meets for the same length of time in extraordinary sessions, which have been frequent. The Assembly's meetings are public; at least forty members must be present for a legal meeting to take place.

The official direction of the Assembly is in the hands of a permanent Executive Committee (Bureau), elected by secret ballot for a six-months period. An absolute majority of members present is required in Executive Committee elections. This Committee includes a chairman, four vice-chairmen, and four secretaries. According to Article 7 of the Rules of the Assembly (adopted November 1943), each category of members

(Metropolitan Resistance, Extra-Metropolitan Resistance, reconstituted political parties, General Councils) must be represented on it. Present Executive Committee members are: Chairman: Felix Gouin; Vice-Chairman: R. P. Carrière; Other members: André Hauriou, Albert Bosman, and André Mercier; Secretaries: Albert Darnal, Pierre Ribière, Ernest Bissagnet,[1] and Paul Antier.

Voting in the Assembly, except for the election of the Executive Committee, takes place by roll-call ballot. Officers are elected by an absolute majority of members present. However, according to Article 45 of the Rules:

> Whatever the number of their members present, the representatives of the organizations of Metropolitan Resistance always possess a total of 48 votes. The votes of the absent members of this category are distributed proportionally among the members of the same category.

This measure of protection for the interests of Resistance has been commented upon extensively, usually with approval.

In order to maintain Assembly operations on a virtually continual basis, standing committees (commissions) have been established to meet between regular Assembly sessions. These committees receive for consideration all proposals submitted to the Assembly. During Assembly sessions, the rapporteurs of the various committees, in opening the debates, set before the Assembly the conclusions to which the committees have come concerning the subjects under discussion. Eleven such committees have been set up so far: the members of which are listed below.[2]

In accordance with customary practice, members of the Consultative Assembly are granted parliamentary immunity. No member can be prosecuted for his official opinion or for his voting record; nor can he be arrested or prosecuted in criminal or correctional courts without the consent of the Assembly, except in cases involving flagrant crimes. Even in such cases,

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1. Deceased, August 1944.
2. See Appendix IV, p. 44.

prosecution of members of the Assembly may be suspended during the session if the Assembly so determines.[1]

The Assembly's main duty is to give advice on those questions submitted to it by the FCNL, this advice to be compulsory on all proposals concerning public loans over 500 million francs, and on general budgetary problems. If the Assembly advises a cut in civilian expenditures or an increase in fiscal taxation, the Committee is obliged to reconsider these questions. Proposals concerning provisional government come under the jurisdiction of the Assembly, although a final decision may be made by the FCNL if no voting agreement is reached by the Assembly in time.

On the initiative of at least two-thirds of its members, the Assembly can decide any question of national interest. In the same manner, it can request any member of the FCNL to present oral explanations of such a question. Furthermore, any delegate may ask written questions of Commissioners of the FCNL. At the beginning of a subsequent session, these questions will be answered orally by the Commissioners concerned. Written questions are not acceptable during the last three days of any session.

On the whole, the technical problems which the Assembly has faced have been met successfully, and the sessions have run with reasonable smoothness. The change in the Assembly's character, from advisory to quasi-legislative, is one testimonial to this fact.

IV. DEBATES AND ACTIVITIES

The debates of the Consultative Assembly have covered a wide variety of subjects. Among the most important topics have been: budgetary problems, help to Metropolitan Resistance, the purge, colonial policy, national defense, and the organization of a new government for liberated France.

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[1] Law of 6 December 1943, Journal Officiel, 16 December 1943, pp. 332, 333.

Many of the points raised in debates on these topics have considerable implication for post-war France. For example, the January debate on the budget brought up the question of the best method of dealing with the properties of traitors. André Marty, Communist leader, proposed the immediate confiscation of all properties belonging to traitors and to founders of industrial corporations associated with the Goering trust. He also advocated the arrest of those founders considered as traitorous.

Another controversy has concerned the issue whether Resistance is a single movement or a grouping of semi-autonomous units. On the whole, the Communists have tended to regard their own Resistance as exclusive, whereas non-Communist Resistants prefer to consider the entire French Underground as one movement. On one significant issue, however, there was unanimity among all elements in Resistance: on the question of pre-invasion help to the Underground in Metropolitan France. When this topic was debated in January, the Communists, with Grenier, lined up behind such non-Communist Resistance leaders as Claudius, Médéric, Giovoni, and Ferrière, contending that aid to French Resistance should be a major part of the French war effort.

The task of purging from military and administrative posts those charged with Fascist activities has been a major problem for Algiers. Almost no sympathy has been expressed in the Assembly for those affiliated with Vichy or strictly German groups within France. When a Christian Democrat, M. Viard, was the only one to advocate some form of moderation and forgiveness for those former members of Fascist organizations who acknowledged their errors and were willing to fight, his speech was badly received by the Assembly. There are, however, elements in the Assembly desiring a more vigorous purge than is wished by others. This difference of opinion, although it is basically one of degree, not kind, may have serious after-effects. When the task of determining punishment for thousands of collaborationists arises after liberation, the arguments which now take place in the Assembly will be repeated in innumerable forms. On the whole, these arguments are divided into two categories: the arguments of those who believe that immediate and drastic punishment should be meted out to all proved Fascist supporters; and the arguments of those who contend that many were forced against their will into collaboration, and should be punished leniently, this punishment to come only after the legal institutions of France have been re-established. There are numerous variations to each theme, but the substance remains the same. In addition, there is another factor to be considered: namely, that the charge of Fascism may be used deliberately and unjustly as a smearing device by political opponents. This danger, however, can be lessened by properly-conducted trials.[1]

In debates preceding and following the Brazzaville Conference, called by the FCNL to discuss the future organization of the African Empire, the Assembly revealed itself as favorable to a complete revamping of colonial organization and policies in the direction of a more democratic régime. Delegates from the Metropole joined with those from the colonies in demanding a policy based on the paramount interest of the indigènes in colonial rule and the closer association of natives in the government. Condemning the concentration of power in the hands of Paris authorities, the delegates from the overseas possessions advocated legislative decentralization and customs autonomy for colonial areas as a means of assuring the future development of both France and its dependencies.

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[1] The trial and execution of Pierre Pucheu in Algiers (March 1944) evoked mixed reactions from the Assembly.

Assembly attitudes in colonial affairs were expressed on the question of the creation of a French federation. Led by Pierre Olivier Lapie, former Republican-Socialist deputy of Meurthe et Moselle, the delegates who participated in the debates approved the formation of a federation composed of colonies, protectorates and the Metropole. While Lapie favored the creation of a federal assembly with legislative powers limited to colonial matters, Mercier, Communist delegate, suggested a "colonial chamber" to replace the Senate in the central government. This chamber would constitute an integral part of the Metropolitan Parliament in all legislative matters. While these debates indicate some form of colonial union may be established in the post-War Empire, it would be hazardous to predict its final form.

There has been extended discussion in the Assembly of plans for the organization of a new government for liberated France. The debates have been long, involved, and often confusing, since the various groups within the Assembly have proposed many plans, and since modifications have been made in each plan. The basic ideas, however, may be divided into three parts: 1) those which relate to the structure of the post-liberation government; 2) those which concern the personnel of this government, on all levels; and 3) those which consider the question of the timing of elections and the actual date for establishing permanent institutions.

Debates in the Assembly show somewhat less interest in the question of governmental structure than has been displayed by American and British commentators on French affairs. The majority of the Assembly has stressed democratic guarantees, although, for the most part, Assembly members have concentrated more on personnel than on structure. Few appear to desire a revival of the forms of the Third Republic, favoring instead a state in which the executive is strengthened, and the processes of legislation simplified and improved. The main question is the degree of socialization to be introduced. All these problems, however, are less immediate than the choosing of a plan for the period of liberation itself. After months of deliberation, a compromise plan was finally passed by the Assembly in the form of a draft ordinance on 27 March 1944, and subsequently ratified with amendments by the FCNL.[1] The preamble to this ordinance reads:

> [The] French people [are] to determine [their] future institutions. To that end, [the] National Constituent Assembly will be convoked as soon as circumstances permit regular elections; at [the] latest, one year after [the] complete liberation of France. [The] Assembly [will be] chosen by secret ballot in one degree by all adult Frenchmen and women except those incapacitated under present laws. During [the] transition period preceding [the] convocation [of the] Assembly, progressive re-establishment [of] republican institutions will be effected....

The two main principles thus outlined are that the French people should determine their own future institutions, and, that in order to achieve this end a National Constituent Assembly should be elected by universal secret ballot. According to the ordinance, women and soldiers, formerly disqualified, would be allowed to vote; for the first time in French history, women would be able to hold office.

The ordinance divides the discussion of French interim government into two parts: local and national. Local problems are discussed first. Vichy municipal and departmental councils would be dissolved. Municipal and departmental councils elected before 1 September 1939, however, would be maintained or reinstated in office, with the exception of those members who have collaborated with either Vichy or the Germans since 17 June 1940. If, as a result of the death, absence or incapacity of their members, these bodies are reduced below the quorum laid down in the laws of the Third Republic, vacancies would be filled by the Prefect of the department from men and women prominent in Resistance.

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[1] Propanal, London, 2 April 1944.

The draft ordinance stipulates that appointments made by the Prefect should take into account the political tendencies of the community at the time of the last election, and at the time of liberation. Furthermore, the Prefect would consult the Departmental Committee of Liberation before making any such appointments. These Departmental Committees would be set up throughout France, and would be composed of representatives of organizations affiliated with the National Council of Resistance. Their purpose would be to assist the Prefect as indicated above, and to act in an advisory capacity. Consultation with the Committees on questions of replacement is mandatory for all Prefects. Arrangements for the local government of Paris and the department of the Seine would be referred to the National Provisional Assembly. Each local body thus established was, according to the ordinance, to have been replaced within three months after the liberation of a department by the holding of departmental elections. The FCNL, however, in passing an act for provisional government, removed the time limit.[1]

In relation to the national government, the draft assumes that the Consultative Assembly will move to France along with the Committee. This move is already taking place (August 1944). The fact that the Assembly voted, presumably unanimously, to change the name of the FCNL to "the Provisional Government of the French Republic"[2] indicates that relations between the two bodies are at present good. Once the Assembly has arrived in Metropolitan France, according to the ordinance, it would be augmented by one delegate appointed by each of the organizations now represented in the National Council of Resistance. Within three months after its liberation, each department would elect delegates to the Assembly, in proportion to its population. All members of the Consultative Assembly would be required to attach themselves to a department; if their mandate were not confirmed by the elections in that department, they would cease to hold office.

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[1] New York Times, 20 April 1944.
[2] Ibid., 16 May 1944. The FCNL approved the change of title on 2 June 1944.

When elections had been held in two-thirds of the departments, the Consultative Assembly would automatically become the Provisional National Assembly. The FCNL (as "Provisional Government of the French Republic") would then turn over its powers to the Assembly. The Assembly would elect by absolute majority a President of the Provisional Government, who, after presentation of a ministry to the Assembly, would receive, through a vote of confidence, full powers until the Constituent Assembly meets. The Assembly might summon the Government to explain its policies by a simple majority vote. The Assembly would be consulted on international agreements, on the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, and on the establishment of a high court of justice. It would vote on the budget without having initiative on budgetary matters.

On the whole, the Consultative Assembly's draft ordinance is closer to the principles of the Third Republic than were other proposals advocated previously in Algiers. The Assembly's Commission on Legislation and Reform of the State, under the chairmanship of the Radical-Socialist Senator Giacobbi,[1] was responsible for the final wording. The final vote on the draft ordinance was 64 to 4. The opposition consisted of two Radical-Socialist parliamentarians, Astier and Rucart, one parliamentarian of the Center, Serda,[1] and one representative of Metropolitan Resistance, Azais. The basis of disagreement voiced by the four in opposition was disapproval of the abandonment of Third Republic principles. The four wished a recapitulation of the Constitution of 1875 rather than the creation of a Fourth Republic.

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[1] Giacobbi is now a member of the FCNL.

The questions of personnel and timing in regard to provisional government may be treated more briefly than the topic of structure, although of no less importance. The personnel problem has many facets; the basic decision being the amount of freedom granted to French authorities during the period of liberation. This topic in turn may be broken down into its several component parts: (1) the rôle to be played by Resistance interests; (2) the disposition to be made of Vichy personnel; (3) the restoration of municipal and departmental councillors who held office under the Third Republic; (4) the amount of control to be given to governmental authorities now in Algiers; and (5) the part to be taken by the old political parties. On these issues, the Consultative Assembly divided in accordance with individual interests: general agreement was reached on the necessity for as great a measure of French independence as possible at the time of invasion and for the removal and trial of responsible Vichy officials. Beyond this, Resistance interests in Algiers have disagreed from time to time with the representatives of the old parties on the issue of post-liberation influence; both groups have been criticized by the National Council of Resistance for failing to accord sufficient authority to Metropolitan Resistance. The entire question of personnel may prove one of the most troublesome and enduring aspects of the liberation period.

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[1] Serda was expelled from the Assembly in July 1944. See p. 4.

A third major problem of the liberation period is the question of the timing of elections. The issues are: (1) whether the elections should take place immediately upon the liberation of each department; or whether elections should be postponed until all of France is freed; (2) whether the timing of elections should be arranged so as to allow for the return of all or a proportion of prisoners of war and labor deportees, as well as those evacuated from the coastal areas; and (3) whether the electoral lists may be revised satisfactorily. The clauses pertaining to timing contained in the draft ordinance illustrate the consensus of the Assembly on this issue. It is, however, a question for which there is no easy and satisfactory answer.

Although some delegates of Resistance have complained over the reappearance of familiar parliamentary arguments and opinions in the discussions at Algiers, the drafting of plans for provisional government has been a notable achievement. In the preliminary stages, however, it was apparent that Resistance delegates were overshadowed by old French politicians such as Astier, Giacobbi, Auriol, and Pierre Cot. Recently, however, Resistance delegates have played a more prominent part in the debates.

The action of the Assembly to change the name of the FCNL is fraught with diplomatic implications of considerable magnitude. So too is the attitude made public by de Gaulle and presumably endorsed by the Assembly that the Darlan-Clark agreement is no longer binding. On the whole, all Fighting French interests in Algiers, led by the FCNL and the Assembly, stiffened considerably in relation to the Allies during the spring and summer of 1944. On 12 May, for example, René Massigli, Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, speaking in the Assembly, argued forcefully for recognition. At one point, he said:

> Our Anglo-Saxon Allies have decided for the present to content themselves with half-measures and to postpone the time when complete governmental status will no longer be denied to us.

Massigli went on to say that serious consequences might be the result of deferring recognition until after the invasion. He contrasted the attitude of the Russians (who gave a wider recognition to the FCNL) with that of the Allies, and emphasized the necessity of maintaining a strong France if the peace of Europe is to be achieved. "For France there is no choice: either she is a great power or she is nothing," he concluded.[1] This belief dominates Assembly thinking.

V. CONCLUSION: POST-LIBERATION RÔLE OF ASSEMBLY

During the first six months of its existence, the Consultative Assembly virtually changed its status. It began as a purely advisory organization; lately, it has assumed functions essentially legislative. This development gives support to the view that France in the future will be no more inclined toward dictatorship and totalitarianism than she was in the past, that she will have no more sympathy with rule by a few than she did before 1940.

The military successes of the French under the leadership of General Juin in Italy during May 1944 gave encouragement to the Assembly in its campaign for French independence. There is little reason to imagine that it will retract any of the claims which it has made, or become more hesitant in its demands. Although the struggle for leadership among the various groups in the Assembly (between the Communists and the Socialists, between the Socialists and the members of Metropolitan Resistance, between the members of other old political parties and Resistance, etc.) may be expected to persist, the principle of Assembly participation in all important decisions has apparently been firmly established.

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[1] New York Times, 13 May 1944.

With the conclusion of Franco-Allied civil affairs agreements in August 1944, plans for the administration of liberated France progressed rapidly. French authorities in Algiers prepared for imminent departure, presumably for Paris. The extent to which the government formed in Algiers corresponds to the political complexion of Metropolitan France has thus become an immediate question. Although intelligence from France as a whole indicates that the French people will surely accept the interim authority of de Gaulle appointees, many of whom remained in the Metropole since 1940, there is more doubt as to the degree to which the Committee and the Consultative Assembly will reflect current French opinion.

One critic has ascribed the occasionally eccentric character of political activity in Algiers to a lack of two fundamentals: (1) big men, and (2) the people of France. Some members of the FCNL and the Assembly had lived outside of France even before the war; many Resistance delegates were completely unknown until after 1940. Despite these handicaps, the men of Algiers have done a competent and conscientious job of representing the political and social aspirations of the Metropole. Representation, inevitably, has been inexact; the "Christian Democrats," for example, encouraged by the support of such diverse personalities as André Philip, François de Menthon, Colonel Passy, and de Gaulle himself, are far stronger in Algiers than in France. Their influence extends beyond their specific place in the CFTC (Christian Trade Unions) and the Popular Democrat Party, and is said to embrace both conservative Resistance delegates such as Prigent, and elements which sympathize with the corporate-society aspects identified with the term "synarchie." Another example of disproportionate representation is afforded by the predominance of the right wing of the Radical-Socialist Party, which through the leadership of Rucart, Astier, and Giacobbi, has overshadowed the Party's more liberal members.

The traditional peasant and petty-bourgeois line, normally found in the Radical-Socialists, has been under-represented in Algiers. Peasants, uneven in their support of Resistance, provided few delegates to the Assembly; small shop-keepers and clerks have been similarly without numerous spokesmen. Under these conditions, the Patriotic Right and the far Left have been able to capitalize on their more dramatic position to obscure many of the permanent and continuing elements in French society. By default, the Communists have often appeared to be speaking for the people of France; their able and aggressive leaders, notably Billoux, Grenier, and Mercier, have displayed greater tactical ability than less extreme Leftists on the order of Queuille and Auriol.

As the Algiers authorities move into France, each Assembly member will be obliged to stand for re-election; each Commissioner will face comparison with leaders who remained in the country. The result is likely to involve some party alteration, and considerable change in the influence and leadership of the several groups.

On the extreme Right, the reception awaiting financial and industrial leaders may prove to be a cold one; the Vichy era appears to have bracketed conservatism and collaboration in the public mind. Unless conservative and Catholic Resistance forces (identified in the Assembly with the Resistance Independents, as well as with the Republican-Democratic Left) develop stronger and more coherent policies than they have advocated up to the present, Rightist Resistants, although perhaps prominent in the first elections, are not likely to attain permanent political power. Some support for these elements will come from the Services Spéciaux, including the former BCRA, which is scheduled to establish contact with Resistance groups and assess the responsibility to be assigned to local leaders.

The clearest change that will probably occur will be the emergence of the less extreme Left parties into a position more closely corresponding to their pre-1939 influence. Whether the Radical-Socialists will be able to regain the peasant and petty-bourgeois vote depends on the degree to which they shed their present aged and conservative leadership and become a popular party. The Socialists are already moving in this direction; they have lately shown new coherence and vigor. De Gaulle is reported to be considering taking Auriol or Léon Blum into the government once the move to France is effected. For the Socialists, as well as the Radical-Socialists, however, there remains the problem of finding younger and less doctrinaire leaders.

Should the Left be unable to achieve such political rehabilitation, a new party, stemming from Resistance elements such as Libération, is a possibility; the new party would probably be further to the Left than the Resistance Independents in the Algiers Assembly. Alternatively, the former Underground would be incorporated in the reconstituted old parties. The Communists, in any case, will profit from having working-class support within the FTP and the Front National, and may be expected to remain a strong party throughout the period of French reconstruction.

Whether the Consultative Assembly accurately represents a cross-section of French opinion is, of course, essentially a problem for the French themselves to decide. Some of the French have criticized the methods and activities of the Assembly. This criticism is similar in kind to the examination to which the American people subject Congress. Since the leading movements of Resistance have acknowledged the utility of the Assembly, and reported its activities with care and general approval in their papers, and since it has given valuable aid to the FCNL, the Assembly may properly be regarded as a significant step forward in the re-establishment of French democratic institutions.

Appendix I. WHO'S WHO IN THE CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY

NAME	REPRESENTING	POLITICAL BACKGROUND	SOCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND	COMMISSION	BUREAU	SOURCE
1. ANTIER, PAUL	Reconstituted political parties.	Indépendant Agraire, Right wing, Haute Loire. Said to have been personally selected by Louis Marin.	Agriculturist. Mayor of Laussonne. Elected deputy of Puy (Haute Loire) on 3 May 1936. Voted for Pétain (1940). Later reported in Underground.	1)Foreign Affairs (Secretary). 2)France Overseas (Chairman). 3)Economic and Social Affairs (member). 4)Interior (member). 5)Budget(member).	3	Supplément au Journal Officiel.
2. ASTIER, MARCEL	Metropolitan Resistance.	Radical-Socialist. Senator of Ardèche. One of the "80".	Senator of Ardèche. Friend of Clémenceau. Former member, Commission de l'Agriculture du Sénat. Voted against Armistice (1940).	1)Foreign Affairs(member). 2)Economic and Social Affairs (chairman).	5	France, 2 November 1943. Textes Organiques, February 1944.
3. D'ASTIER DE LA VIGERIE, HENRI	Extra-Metropolitan Resistance (Morocco.)	Royalist (?)	Aide-de-camp to general in command, Meknes region; formerly Chief Taffilalet region. Involved in Darlan affair. Released from prison November 1943. Brother of Emmanuel and François.	1)National Defense(member). 2)Rules(member).	7	MOI, 24 September 1943. R & A files. Sunday Express, 7 November 1943.
4. AUBRAC, RAYMOND	Metropolitan Resistance.		Left France, February 1944. Engineer. Appointed regional commissioner for Southern France by FCNL (August 1944).	Interior (member).	7	Supplément au J.O., 4 March 1944.

Appendix I. (Continued)

NAME	REPRESENTING	POLITICAL BACKGROUND	SOCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND	COMMISSION	BUREAU	SOURCE
5. AURANGE, PAUL	Extra-Metropolitan Resistance (Morocco).	Has worked with Communist Party.		1)National Defense (reporter). 2)Interior (member).	5	*Supplément au J.O.*
6. AURIOL, VINCENT	Reconstituted political parties.	Unified Socialist.	Former Minister of Finance. Deputy of Haute-Garonne. Mayor of Muret. Lawyer and publisher.	1)Foreign Affairs (member). 2)Reform of the State(member). 3)Interior (chairman).	4	*Supplément au J.O.*
7. AZAIS, HYACINTHE	Metropolitan Resistance (*Ceux de la Résistance*).		Professor.	1)Public Education,Health,Youth (chairman). 2)Reform of the State(member).	1	Airgram, 2 December 1943. CID #49783.
8. BENDJELLOUL, MOHAMED SALAH	General Councils (Constantine).	Native General Councillor	Physician. Head of Algerian Musulman Foundation. Influential pan-Islamic leader; anti-French until 1936. Anti-Vichy.Volunteered (1939).	Finance (member).	6	OSS, R & A December 1942.
9. BERLIOZ, JOHANNY	Metropolitan Resistance.			1)Information and Propaganda (chairman). 2)Foreign Affairs (vice-chairman).	3	*Textes Organiques*. February *1944*.

Appendix I. (Continued)

NAME	REPRESENTING	POLITICAL BACKGROUND	SOCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND	COMMISSION	BUREAU	SOURCE
10. BISSAGNET, ERNEST*	Extra-Metropolitan Resistance (French West Africa).	Member of Council of the Order of the Fellows of Liberation	Decorated: Cross of French Resistance. Condemned by Vichy for his action in attack on Dakar (1940). Escaped from imprisonment in France. Colonial administrator.	1)Information and Propaganda (vice-chairman). 2)Reform of the State (member). 3)Interior (member).	7	France-Amérique, 21 December 1943.
11. BLANC, RAYMOND	General Councils (Oran).	Socialist.		1)Finance (member). 2)Reform of the State (member). 3)Rules (member).	6	France, 30 October 1943.
12. BLOCH, JEAN-PIERRE	Reconstituted political parties.	Socialist.	Journalist. Municipal Councillor, Laon. General Councillor, Aisne. Deputy of Laon (3 May 1936).	1)France Overseas (chairman). 2)Information and Propaganda (member).	2	Supplément au J.O.
13. BOILLOT, FELIX	Extra-Metropolitan Resistance (England).				1	Supplément au J.O., 6 January 1944.
14. DE BOISSOUDY, GUY	Extra-Metropolitan Resistance.		Son and brother of Army officers. Fought in A.E.F. for de Gaulle, in Eritrea, and Syria. Under Legentilhomme in Fezzan.	National Defense (member).	2	Supplément au J.O., 6 January 1944.

*Deceased, August 1944

Appendix I. (Continued)

NAME	REPRESENTING	POLITICAL BACKGROUND	SOCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND	COMMISSION	BUREAU	SOURCE
15. BONTE, FLORIMOND	Reconstituted political parties.	Communist	Editor of Liberté, Communist weekly (Algiers.) Journalist. Communist deputy of Paris(3 May 1936.)	1)Information and Propaganda (member). 2)Finance (member). 3)Rules(member).	2	Supplément au J.O., 6 January 1944.
16. BORDIER, JEAN	Metropolitan Resistance (Libération).	Socialist?	Former pupil,Polytechnique.Engineer. Nancy.	1)Finance (member). 2)Reform of the State(reporter). 3)Rules(member).	6	France, 22 January 1944. CID#49783.
17.BOSMAN, ALBERT (pseudonym)	Metropolitan Resistance (Libération, north zone).	Socialist.	Municipal councillor,Nancy. Member of Purge Committees, representing Resistance. Wife reported to be prisoner of Germans.	1)Finance (vice-chairman). 2)National Defense (member). 3)Interior(member). 4)Budget(chairman).	7	CID #49783.
18. BOURGOIN, JEAN	Extra-Metropolitan Resistance (Indo-China).		Chief Engineer,Ponts-et-Chaussées, Indo-China, for 20 years. Escaped from there, 1942. Major in fighting French forces Specialist in railway building.	1)Economic and Social Affairs (member). 2)France Overseas (member).	3	France-Amérique, 23 January 1944. Supplément au J.O.
19. BOUZANQUET, ALBERT	Metropolitan Resistance(CGT).	Socialist	One of 5 CGT delegates to the Assembly.	1)France Overseas (member). 2)National Defense (member). 3)Interior(member).	1	Liberté, 6 January 1944.L'Echo d'Alger, 18 January 1944.

Appendix I. (Continued)

NAME	REPRESENTING	POLITICAL BACKGROUND	SOCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND	COMMISSION	BUREAU	SOURCE
20. BUISSON, GEORGES	Metropolitan Resistance (CGT).	Socialist. Opposed to Communists. Wife (Suzanne) contributor to Le Populaire.	Secretary of Federation of White-Collar workers (CGT), 1912-1922. Assistant Secretary, CGT, Member of National Economic Council, etc.	1)Economic and Social Affairs (chairman). 2)France Overseas(member).	1	Biographical Records, 1424.
21. CARRIERE, le R.P. ANSELME	Extra-Metropolitan Resistance (Egypt).		Dominican. Entered order after 1st.World War(decorated).Taught in Jerusalem public schools for 15 years. Forceful. Joined de Gaulle, July 1940.	Public Education, Youth and Health. (Vice-chairman).	7	Franco-Amérique, 21 November 1943.
22. CASSIN, RENE	Extra-Metropolitan Resistance.	Moderate Left-Wing.	Professor, School of Law, Paris. Held positions in official agencies working for the League of Nations.	1)Reform of the State (member). 2)Foreign Affairs (member) 3)Interior(member).	4	Supplément au J.O.
23. CLAUDIUS, PIERRE	Metropolitan Resistance. (Franc-Tireur).		Wood-carver, from 12 years of age to 17. Trade-union work from then on. High-school professor later.	1)Economic and Social Affairs (member). 2)Public Education, Health and Youth (member). 3)Interior(vice-chairman). 4)Rules(member).	3	CID #49783.
24. CLAVIER					3	Supplément au J.O., 3 November 1943.

Appendix I. (Continued)

NAME	REPRESENTING	POLITICAL BACKGROUND	SOCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND	COMMISSION	BUREAU	SOURCE
25. COSTA, JOSEPH	Extra-Metropolitan Resistance (Tunisia).	Socialist.		1)Foreign Affairs (vice-chairman). 2)Finance(member). 3)Reform of the State(member).	4	*L'Echo d'Alger*, 18 January 1944.
26. COT, PIERRE	Reconstituted political parties.	Radical-Socialist.	Three times Minister of Aviation. Deputy of Savoie (1928 - 1940). Professor of International public law.		5	Miscellaneous.
27. CROIZAT, AMBROISE	Metropolitan Resistance (CGT).	Communist.	Machinist. Deputy of Paris (3 May 1936). Arrested, April 1940. One of the leaders in 1936 sitdown strikes in Renault Plants.	1)Economic and Social Affairs (member). 2)Reform of the State(member).	2	*Liberté*, 6 January 1944.
28. CUTTOLI, PAUL	General Councils (Constantine).	Radical-Socialist.	Senator of Constantine. Prominent in Left-Democratic circles.	1)Reform of the State (member). 2)Education (member). 3)Information & Propaganda(member).	4	Miscellaneous
29. DALSACE, JACQUES	Metropolitan Resistance (Alsace-Lorraine).	Extreme Rightist.	Active in purge investigations. Uses pseudonym?			*New York Times*, 10 September 1943.
30. DARNAL, ANDRE	General Councils (Guiana).		Chairman, General Council, Guiana. Former mayor, Cayenne. (Resigned, 1940).	1)Foreign Affairs (Secretary). 2)Budget(member).	3	CID #52623.

Appendix I. (Continued)

NAME	REPRESENTING	POLITICAL BACKGROUND	SOCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND	COMMISSION	BUREAU	SOURCE
31. DEBIESSE, JEAN	Extra- Metropolitan Resistance (Tunisia).			1)Public Education, Health and Youth(member). 2)Information and Propaganda(member). 3)Rules (member).	5	Supplément au J.O., 15 January 1944.
32. DES ETAGES, MAURICE HUGUES	General Councils (Martinique).		Appointed to replace Sévère.		7	French Press and Information Service, 1 January 1944.
33. DUBANQUET .	Extra-Metropolitan Resistance (Tunisia).	Communist?	Complained of attacks by soldiers on Tunisian Communist paper(1944).			FCC, 21 January 1944. L'Echo d'Alger,10 November 1943.
34. DUCLOS, MARCEL	General Councils (Algiers).	Radical (center).		1)France Overseas (member). 2)Public Education, Health & Youth (member). 3)Interior (vice-chairman).	5	Supplément au J.O.
35. DUMESNIL DE GRAMONT, MICHEL	Metropolitan Resistance (Libération, south zone).	Freemason. May be Radical-Socialist or Radical.	Assistant Chief of Center for Scientific Research for National Defense.	1)Foreign Affairs (member). 2)Reform of the State (reporter). 3)Finance(reporter). 4)Budget (member).	7	Supplément au J.O.
36. EVRARD, JUST	Metropolitan Resistance	Socialist.	Decorated during 1st World War. Active in Resistance in north zone. Socialist deputy.	1)National Defense (member). 2)France Overseas (member). 3)Budget (member)	5	Propanal, 11 February 1944.

Appendix I. (Continued)

NAME	REPRESENTING	POLITICAL BACKGROUND	SOCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND	COMMISSION	BUREAU	SOURCE
37. FAJON, ETIENNE	Reconstituted Political Parties.		Appointed to replace Billoux.	1)Interior (member). 2)National Defense(member).	6	Textes Organiques. February 1944.
38. FALL, ELY MANEL	General Councils (Guinea).		Native member of General Council.	1)National Defense (member). 2)Information and Propaganda(member)..	3	Supplément au J.O.
39. FAYET, PIERRE	Metropolitan Resistance(CGT).		Active in CGT.	1)France Overseas(member). 2)Economic and Social Affairs (member).	2	Liberté, 6 January 1944.
40. FERRIERE, RENE	Metropolitan Resistance (Combat).		Journalist. Formerly connected with La Flèche, Bergery.	1)Information and Propaganda(reporter). 2)National Defense (reporter).	4	CID #49783.
41. FRANCKE, MAX	Metropolitan Resistance (CFTC).	Christian Democrat.		1)Information and Propaganda (member). 2)Public Education, Health & Youth(member).	2	J.O., 13 November 1943; L'Echo d'Alger, 9 January 1944.
42. FROMENT, EUGENE	Metropolitan Resistance.	Socialist.	Insurance agent. Mayor of Largentière. Deputy of Ardèche.	1)National Defense (chairman). 2)Reform of the State(member) . 3)Interior (member)	4	Supplément au J.O.

Appendix I. (Continued)

NAME	REPRESENTING	POLITICAL BACKGROUND	SOCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND	COMMISSION	BUREAU	SOURCE
43. GANDELIN, NOEL	Metropolitan Resistance (*Franc-Tireur*).			1)Public Education,Health & Youth(reporter). 2)Information and Propaganda (member).	3	CID #49783.
44. GAZIER, ALBERT	Metropolitan Resistance(CGT).	Socialist.	White-Collar worker until 1936. Secretary of White-Collar workers (CGT) for Paris region. Anti-Munich. Signatory of 15 November 1940 Manifesto. Organizer of Committee for Economic and Social Studies.	1)Foreign Affairs (member). 2)Education (member). 3)Economic and Social Affairs (member).	5	*Supplément au J.O.*
45. GERVOLINO, ROGER	Extra-Metropolitan Resistance (New Caledonia).		Secretary of union of commercial employees.	Information and Propaganda(member).	3	*Supplément au J.O.* *France-Amérique*, 21 November 1943.
46. GIOVONI, ARTHUR	Metropolitan Resistance (*Front National*).	Communist? "Liberal" views.	Professor *Lycée d'Ajaccio* (Corsica). Took leading part in Corsican liberation (September 1943).	Public Education, Health and Youth (vice-chairman).	2	*Supplément au J.O.*
47. GIRON, CHARLES	Metropolitan Resistance (*Combat*).		Director of *Combat*. Appointed to replace Frénay.		4	*L'Echo d'Alger*, 8 March 1944.
48. GIROT, JOSEPH	Extra-Metropolitan Resistance (Madagascar).		Farmer and merchant in Madagascar since 1915. In World War I. Chairman, Fighting French in Madagascar.	1)France Overseas (member). 2)Economic and Social Affairs (member).	2	*Supplément au J.O.*

Appendix I. (Continued)

NAME	REPRESENTING	POLITICAL BACKGROUND	SOCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND	COMMISSION	BUREAU	SOURCE
49. GOUIN, FELIX	Reconstituted political parties.	Unified Socialist.	Deputy of Marseille since June 1928. Mayor of Istres. Vice-chairman, Chamber of Deputies. One of Blum's defenders at Riom trial. Liberal. De Gaullist.	Chairman of the Consultative Assembly.	2	*Supplément au J.O.*
50. GUERIN, ALBERT	Extra-Metropolitan Resistance (Argentine).		Strong de Gaullist. Opposed to maintaining Vichy appointees in diplomatic posts. Publisher of *La France Nouvelle*.	1) Information and Propaganda (member). 2) Foreign Affairs (member).	2	OSS #24584, 8 November 1943.
51. GUILLERY, PIERRE	Extra-Metropolitan Resistance (Cameroun).		Opposed Cot, but dropped protest. Wants second Cameroun delegate.	Finance. (member).	2	*Supplément au J.O.* 27 November 1943.
52. HAURIOU, ANDRE	Metropolitan Resistance (*Combat*).	Christian Democrat.	Professor of constitutional law, University of Toulouse. Removed by Vichy (December 1943).	1) Foreign Affairs (reporter). 2) Reform of the State (vice-chairman).	1	CID #49785
53. HERVE	Metropolitan Resistance.				2	*Supplément au J.O.*, 11 and 13 November 1943.
54. JACQUES, JEAN	Metropolitan Resistance (Franc-Tireur).	Christian Democrat?	Contributor to *La Quatrième République*. Supports National Council of Resistance actively.	1) Finance (member). 2) Economic & Social Affairs (member).	4	*La Quatrième République*, 1 January 1944; 8 January 1944.

Appendix I. (Continued)

NAME	REPRESENTING	POLITICAL BACKGROUND	SOCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND	COMMISSION	BUREAU	SOURCE
55. LAPIE, PIERRE-OLIVIER	Reconstituted political parties.	Republican-Socialist.	Specialist in International law. Deputy of Meurthe and Moselle (1936). Good record World War II. Appointed Governor of Chad by de Gaulle. Pro-British.	1)France Overseas (reporter). 2)Public Education, Health & Youth (member).	1	Supplément au J.O. 8 January 1944.
56. LAURENT, CHARLES	Metropolitan Resistance (CGT).	Moderate Socialist.	Head of federation of government employees (CGT).	1)Reform of the State (vice-chairman). 2)Finance (member). 3)Information & Propaganda (member). 4)Rules (member).	1	Supplément au J.O. 8 January 1944.
57. MAILLOT, HENRI	Metropolitan Resistance.			Interior (member).	6	Textes Organiques, February 1944.
58. MALBRANT, RENE	Extra-Metropolitan Resistance.				1	Textes Organiques, February 1944.
59. MARTY, ANDRE	Reconstituted political parties.	Communist.	Deputy of Seine-et-Oise (1924), of Puteaux (1929), of Paris (1935). On Comintern Secretariat since 1932.	Foreign Affairs (member).	1	Combat, 20 December 1943.
60. MATHIEU-FREVILLE, JACQUES	Metropolitan Resistance (Ceux de la Résistance).		Professor.		6	CID #49783.

Appendix I. (Continued)

NAME	REPRESENTING	POLITICAL BACKGROUND	SOCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND	COMMISSION	BUREAU	SOURCE
61. MAYOUX, JEAN JACQUES	Metropolitan Resistance (Ceux de la Résistance. Also cited as member of Ceux de La Libération (CID #49783).	Of conservative tendencies: "It would be pure madness to plunge this country into democracy without preparation."	Was in England in June 1940. Helped to organize Resistance among peasants in his province. Not interested in politics prior to 1940.	1)Foreign Affairs (asst. reporter). 2)Information and Propaganda (member).	1	New York Herald Tribune, 28 January 1944.
62. MERCIER, ANDRE	Metropolitan Resistance (Communist).	Communist.	Waiter. Secretary of Waiters' Union. Communist deputy of Paris (1936). De Gaullist. In London since summer of 1943.	1)Finance (member). 2)France Overseas(member).	7	France, 23 September 1943.
63. MISTRAL, PAUL	Reconstituted political parties.	Socialist.	Appointed to replace Le Troquer.	1)France Overseas(member). 2)Information and Propaganda (member). 3)Rules(member).	4	Textes Organiques, February 1944.
64. MOCH, JULES	Reconstituted political parties.	Socialist.	Navy engineer. Technician. Deputy of Herault (1938). General secretary of Présidence du Conseil of Leon Blum (1936 - 1937). Minister of Public Works, 13 March - 10 April 1938. Was at Narvik.	1)National Defense (member). 2)Economic and Social Affairs (member).	1	Supplément au J.O.
65. MUSELLI, PASCAL	General Councils (Oran).	Radical-Socialist.	Mayor of Mascara. Financial delegate.	1)National Defense (member). 2)Economic and Social Affairs (member). 3)Public Education, Health & Youth(member).	1	CID #52623.

Appendix I. (Continued)

NAME	REPRESENTING	POLITICAL BACKGROUND	SOCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND	COMMISSION	BUREAU	SOURCE
66. PARENT, PIERRE	Extra-Metropolitan Resistance (Morocco).		In Morocco for twenty-seven years.	1)Economic and Social Affairs (member). 2)Rules(member).	5	L'Echo d'Alger, 1 January 1944.
67. PAGES, PIERRE	Metropolitan Resistance.	Greeted by Auriol on arrival in Algiers.	Sent to Algiers by Corsican Departmental Committee of National Front. Insisted on full credit for Corsican patriots, as opposed to FCNL.			L'Echo d'Alger, 7 January 1944; FCC, 6 January 1944. French Press & Information Service, 11 October 1943.
68. PERRIN, FRANCIS	Extra-Metropolitan Resistance(USA).	Liberal. Unaffiliated.	Professor of Physics, Sorbonne. Came to USA on fellowship.		3	France-Amérique.
69. POIMBOEUF, MARCEL	Metropolitan Resistance(CFTC?)	Christian Democrat.	General Secretary of Federation of White-Collar Workers (CFTC). Active in both World Wars. Contributor to L'Aube et Temps Nouveau. Worked with Combat and Libération. De Gaullist. Went to London, 27 April 1943.	Economic and Social Affairs (vice-chairman).	7	Supplément au J.O.
70. POURTALET, HENRI	Metropolitan Resistance (Communist).	Communist.	Agriculturist. Deputy of Grasse-Cannes (May 1936).	1)National Defense (vice-chairman). 2)Interior(member).	5	Supplément au J.O.

Appendix I. (Continued)

NAME	REPRESENTING	POLITICAL BACKGROUND	SOCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND	COMMISSION	BUREAU	SOURCE
71. PRIGENT, ROGER	Metropolitan Resistance (OCM).	Non-partisan Catholic.	Skilled worker.	1)Education, Health, and Youth(general reporter). 2)Finance(member). 3)Interior(reporter).	4	Airgrams #10 & 14, February 1944.
72. RENCUREL, AUGUSTE	General Councils (Algiers).	Radical - Socialist.		1)Foreign Affairs (member). 2)Interior (member). 3)Economic and Social Affairs (member). 4)Public Education, Health & Youth(reporter). 5)Rules(member).	6	Airgrams #10 & 14, February 1944.
73. RIBIERE, PIERRE	Metropolitan Resistance (Combat, north zone).	Non-partisan Catholic.	Member of Purge Committee. Imprisoned for Resistance activities. Criticized diplomatic representation of FCNL, particularly in USSR, USA, and South America.	1)Information and Propaganda (vice-chairman). 2)Public Education, Health & Youth(reporter). 3)Rules(member).	5	CID #25353.

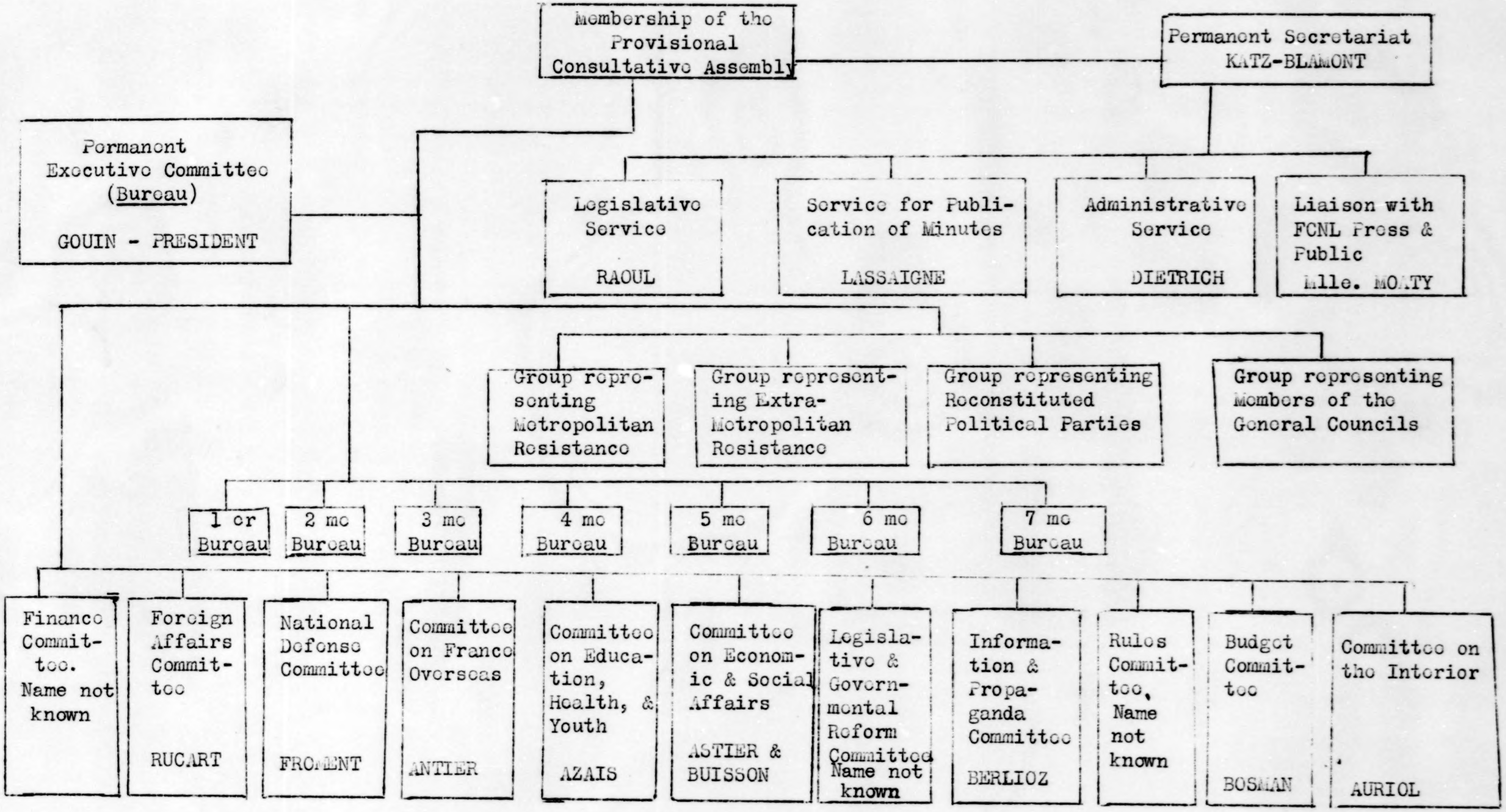
Appendix I. (Continued)

NAME	REPRESENTING	POLITICAL BACKGROUND	SOCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND	COMMISSION	BUREAU	SOURCE
74. RUCART, MARC	Metropolitan Resistance.	Radical Socialist.	Journalist. Former Editor, La République des Vosges. Deputy of Epinal since 1928. Minister of Justice and of Public Health in Popular Front government. One of leaders of French Free Masons.	1)Foreign Affairs (chairman). 2)France Overseas(member). 3)Rules(member).	6	Supplément au J.O.
75. SEIGNON, HENRI	Extra-Metropolitan Resistance (Gabon).		Merchant in Libreville (Gabon).	France-Overseas (vice-chairman).	1	Supplément au J.O.
76. SIMARD, Mme. MARTHE	Extra-Metropolitan Resistance (Canada).		Helped found Canadian Free French Committee (December 1940). Active in recruiting Gaullist support in Canada..		3	France-Amérique. 21 November 1943.
77. SONVEILLE						Supplément au J.O.
78. TUBERT, PAUL	Extra-Metropolitan Resistance (North Africa).	Probably Left-Wing.	Regular Army (rank of general). 2nd bureau. Dismissed by Vichy as Freemason. Took part in Allied landings (North Africa).	1)Finance (member). 2)Public Education,Health & Youth(member).		Supplément au J.O.
79. VALENTINO, PAUL	General Councils (Guadelope).		Native leader, Guadelope. Released from camp in Guiana after Giraud-appointee took over colony.	Reform of the State(member).	2	CID #56256.
80. VALLEE	Metropolitan Resistance (Ceux de la Résistance).	Active in Resistance since 1940.	Probably professor.			L'Echo d'Alger, 5 November 1943.

Appendix I. (Continued)

NAME	REPRESENTING	POLITICAL BACKGROUND	SOCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND	COMMISSION	BUREAU	SOURCE
81. VALLON, LOUIS	Metropolitan Resistance (Libération).	Unified Socialist; then neo-Socialist.	Engineer, Ecole Polytechnique.	1)Finance (member). 2)National Defense (reporter).	6	CID #49783.
82. VIARD, PAUL	Metropolitan Resistance.	Christian Democrat.	Professor, School of Law, Algiers, Dean of Faculty.	1)Foreign Affairs (member). 2)France Overseas (member).	6	La Quatrième République, 25 December 1943.
83. DE VILLELE, MICHEL	General Councils (La Réunion).		Plantation owner. Resistance leader in La Réunion. Tried by Vichy court-martial.	France Overseas (vice-chairman).	7	France-Amérique, 21 November 1943.
84. ZIVARATTINAM, DEIVA	General Councils (French Indies).		Lawyer, Pondichéry.	France Overseas (member).	6	Supplément au J.O.

Appendix II. ORGANIZATION OF THE PROVISIONAL CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY


Membership of the Provisional Consultative Assembly
Permanent Secretariat KATZ-BLAMONT
Permanent Executive Committee (Bureau) GOUIN - PRESIDENT
Legislative Service RAOUL
Service for Publication of Minutes LASSAIGNE
Administrative Service DIETRICH
Liaison with FCNL Press & Public Mlle. MOATY
Group representing Metropolitan Resistance
Group representing Extra-Metropolitan Resistance
Group representing Reconstituted Political Parties
Group representing Members of the General Councils
1 er Bureau
2 me Bureau
3 me Bureau
4 me Bureau
5 me Bureau
6 me Bureau
7 me Bureau
Finance Committee. Name not known
Foreign Affairs Committee RUCART
National Defense Committee FROMENT
Committee on France Overseas ANTIER
Committee on Education, Health, & Youth AZAIS
Committee on Economic & Social Affairs ASTIER & BUISSON
Legislative & Governmental Reform Committee Name not known
Information & Propaganda Committee BERLIOZ
Rules Committee, Name not known
Budget Committee BOSMAN
Committee on the Interior AURIOL

Committee - (Commission)

Appendix III. SUPPLEMENTARY DELEGATES TO THE CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY

(Attend only budgetary discussions)

Country	Member
Algeria	Lakhdari, Smail
	Lombardi, Emile
	Raoux
	Tamzali, Abdelnour
	Vogler
Tunisia	Casabianca, Marcel
	Tahar ben Ammar
Morocco	Brun, Albert
	Debaro, Francis
	de Peretti, Antoine

Appendix IV. COMMISSIONS (STANDING COMMITTEES)

Foreign Affairs

Marc Rucart	Chairman	MR[1]
Costa	Vice-Chairman	EMR
Berlioz	Vice-Chairman	MR
Hauriou	Reporter	MR
Mayoux	Asst. Reporter	MR
Antier	Secretary	P
Darnal	Secretary	GC
Viard	Member	MR
Dumesnil de Gramont	Member	MR
Astier	Member	MR
Gazier	Member	MR
Cassin	Member	EMR
Guérin	Member	EMR

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[1] In the following:
MR means Metropolitan Resistance
EMR means Extra-Metropolitan Resistance
P means Reconstituted Political Parties
GC means General Councils

Appendix IV. (Continued)

Foreign Affairs (contd)

Roncurol	Member	GC
Auriol	Member	P
Marty	Member	P

Finance

(Name not known)	Chairman	
Bosman	Vice-Chairman	MR
Dumesnil de Gramont	Reporter	MR
Mercier	Member	MR
Vallon	Member	MR
Bordier	Member	MR
Laurent	Member	MR
Blanc	Member	GC
Bendjelloul	Member	GC
Guillory	Member	EMR
Bonte	Member	P
Jacques	Member	MR
Prigent	Member	MR
Costa	Member	EMR
Tubert	Member	EMR

National Defense

Fromont	Chairman	MR
Pourtalet	Vice-Chairman	MR
Aurange	Reporter	EMR
Ferrière	Reporter	MR
Vallon	Reporter	MR
Evrard	Member	MR
Muselli	Member	GC
d'Astier de la Vigerie	Member	EMR
Fajon	Member	P
Moch	Member	P
Bosman	Member	MR

National Defense (contd)

Bouzanquet	Member	MR
de Boissoudy	Member	EMR
Ely Manel Fall	Member	GC

Economic and Social Affairs

Astier	Co-Chairman	MR
Buisson	Co-Chairman	MR
Poimboeuf	Vice-Chairman	MR
Croizat	Member	MR
Gazier	Member	MR
Jacques	Member	MR
Girot	Member	EMR
Claudius	Member	MR
Fayet	Member	MR
Antier	Member	P
Moch	Member	P
Bourgoin	Member	EMR
Parent	Member	EMR
Rencurel	Member	GC
Muselli	Member	GC

Information and Propaganda

Berlioz	Chairman	MR
Bissagnet	Vice-Chairman	EMR
Ribière	Vice-Chairman	MR
Ferrière	Reporter	MR
Gandelin	Member	MR
Mayoux	Member	MR
Mistral	Member	P
Francke	Member	MR
Laurent	Member	MR
Ely Manel Fall	Member	GC
Gervolino	Member	EMR

Information and Propaganda (contd)

Bloch	Member	P
Bonte	Member	P
Guérin	Member	EMR
Cuttoli	Member	GC

Reform of the State - Legislation

(Name not known)	Chairman	
Hauriou	Vice-Chairman	MR
Laurent	Vice-Chairman	MR
Bordier	Reporter	MR
Dumesnil de Gramont	Reporter	MR
Azais	Member	MR
Cuttoli	Member	GC
Valentino	Member	GC
Auriol	Member	P
Croizat	Member	MR
Froment	Member	MR
Bissagnet	Member	EMR
Cassin	Member	EMR
Costa	Member	EMR
Blanc	Member	GC

France - Overseas

Antier	Chairman	P
de Villele	Vice-Chairman	GC
Seignon	Vice-Chairman	EMR
Lapie	Reporter	P
Rucart	Member	MR
Mercier	Member	MR
Mistral	Member	P
Buisson	Member	MR
Evrard	Member	MR
Viard	Member	MR

France-Overseas (contd)

Duclos	Member	GC
Bouzanquet	Member	MR
Fayet	Member	MR
Girot	Member	EMR
Bourgoin	Member	EMR
Zivarattinam	Member	GC

Public Education - Health - Youth

Azais	Chairman	MR
R. P. Carriere	Vice-Chairman	EMR
Giovoni	Vice-Chairman	MR
Prigent	General & Youth Reporter	MR
Gandolin	Education Reporter	MR
Roncurel	Health Reporter	GC
Ribière	Member	MR
Lapie	Member	P
Claudius	Member	MR
Francke	Member	MR
Tubert	Member	EMR
Debiesse	Member	EMR
Duclos	Member	GC
Muselli	Member	GC

Interior

Auriol	Chairman	P
Claudius	Vice-Chairman	MR
Duclos	Vice-Chairman	GC
Prigent	Reporter	MR
Aubrac	Member	MR
Aurange	Member	EMR
Antier	Member	MR
Fajon	Member	P
Bissagnet	Member	EMR

Interior (contd)

Bosman	Member	MR
Bouzanquet	Member	MR
Cassin	Member	EMR
Froment	Member	MR
Maillot	Member	MR
Pourtalet	Member	MR
Roncurel	Member	GC

Parliamentary Rules

(Name not known)	Chairman	
d'Astier de la Vigerie	Member	EMR
Blanc	Member	GC
Bonte	Member	P
Bordier	Member	MR
Claudius	Member	MR
Debiesse	Member	EMR
Laurent	Member	MR
Mistral	Member	P
Berlioz	Member	MR
Parent	Member	EMR
Roncurel	Member	GC
Ribière	Member	MR
Rucart	Member	MR

Internal Budget

Bosman	Chairman	MR
Antier	Member	P
Darnal	Member	GC
Dumesnil de Gramont	Member	MR
Evrard	Member	MR

Table 1. COMPOSITION OF NATIONAL COUNCIL OF FRENCH RESISTANCE

	Number of members
Appointments from North Zone Resistance Groups	
Libération (North Zone)	1
Ceux de la Résistance	1
Ceux de la Libération	1
Organisation Civile et Militaire	1
Front National	1
Appointments from South Zone Resistance Groups	
Libération (South Zone)	1
Combat	1
Franc Tireur	1
Appointments by Trade Unions	
General Confederation of Labor (CGT)	1
Christian Federation of Labor (CFTC)	1
Appointments by Political Parties	
Communist	1
Socialist	1
Radical-Socialist	1
Christian-Democratic Parties	1
Alliance Démocratique	1
Union Républicaine	1
TOTAL	16

NOTE: Two "Coordination Committees" exist: one for the north and one for the south zone. Within these two Committees are assembled the five Underground groups of the north and the three Underground groups of the south zones.

Table 2. METROPOLITAN RESISTANCE: MEMBERSHIP IN CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY[1]

	Number of members
Eight Resistance groups	24
Workers' unions	4
Political Parties	11
General de Gaulle's personal appointee	1
TOTAL	40

The eleven political party delegates were to be distributed as follows:

Communists	3
Socialists	3
Radicals	2
"Moderates" (Parliamentary Right)	3
TOTAL	11

NOTE: Representatives of Metropolitan Resistance were to be designated "by the National Council of French Resistance among delegates of the Coordination Committees of both zones, among trade unions and among political groups which adhere to the Council of French Resistance."[2]

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[1] CID #49485, 17 November 1943.

[2] *Journal Officiel de la République Française*, October 1943. Ordinance of 23 September 1943, Article 2.

Table 3. EXTRA-METROPOLITAN RESISTANCE: MEMBERSHIP IN CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY[1]

	Number of members
North African Resistance Groups	3
French Committees Abroad	4
Resistance supporters in French Colonies	5
TOTAL	12

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[1] *Journal Officiel de la République Française*, October 1943. Ordinance of 23 September 1943, Article 5.

Table 4. RECONSTITUTED POLITICAL PARTIES: MEMBERSHIP IN CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY

	Number of members
Communists	3
Socialists	5
Radical-Socialists (including Christian Democrats and Independent Socialists)	5
"Moderates" (Parliamentary Right)	7
TOTAL	20

NOTE: The procedure governing the election of Senators and Deputies to the Assembly stipulated that the Commissioner of the Interior was to determine the allocation of membership in accordance with the political affiliations of the parliamentarian candidates. This was to involve three main steps: 1) distribution among the leading political parties of the twenty seats available in the Assembly, in accordance with their strength as of 3 September 1939; 2) formation of an electoral college by the available Parliamentarians of each of these political parties; 3) election of their representatives to the Assembly, in the proportion stated above, by the electoral colleges, by secret ballot and majority rule.

Table 5. GENERAL COUNCILS: MEMBERSHIP IN CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY

	Number of members
Algeria	2
Tunisia	2
Morocco	2
Other Colonies	6
TOTAL	12

Table 6. MEMBERSHIP ADDED TO CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY BY DECREE OF 6 DECEMBER 1943[1]

	Number of members
Appointments from Resistance	
Algeria	2
Tunisia	2
Morocco	2
Abroad	5
TOTAL	11
Appointments from the Colonies	
French West Africa	1
French Equatorial Africa	2
Indo-China	1
Cameroun	1
New Caledonia	1
Madagascar	1
Oceania	1
Resistance supporters	2
TOTAL	10

NOTE: Article 3 of the same ordinance replaced some of the Commissioners who had been appointed to the FCNL when the reorganization of 9 November 1943 took place.

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[1] J.O.R.F., 16 December 1943.

Table 7. OFFICIAL MEMBERSHIP OF CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY

		Number of members
Metropolitan Resistance		49
Extra-Metropolitan Resistance		21
Algeria	2	
Tunisia	2	
Morocco	2	
French Committees Abroad	5	
Initial Members of Fighting French	2	
Colonies		
French West Africa	1	
French Equatorial Africa	2	
Indo-China	1	
Cameroun	1	
New Caledonia	1	
Madagascar	1	
Oceania	1	
Reconstituted Political Parties		20
Communists	3	
Socialists	5	
Radical-Socialists	5	
"Moderates" (Parliamentary Right)	7	
General Councils		12
Algeria	2	
Tunisia	2	
Morocco	2	
Other Colonies	6	
Total Membership		102

NOTE: When the Assembly meets to discuss the general budget of the FCNL, it is augmented by twelve delegates of the North African financial bodies, who are elected by secret ballot.[1] They include six members for the Algerian Financial Delegations, four for the Moroccan Government (including three members for the French Section and one for the natives), and two for the Tunisian *Grand Conseil*. (See Appendix II).

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[1] Article 19 of the Ordinance of 17 September 1943.

Table 8. MEMBERS OF CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY: THEIR AFFILIATION AND BACKGROUND[1]

	Members
Metropolitan Resistance	
Resistance Groups	
Combat	Ferrière Hauriou Giron Ribière
Ceux de la Résistance	Azais Mathieu-Freville Mayoux Vallée
Libération	Bordier Bosman Dumesnil de Gramont Morandat Vallon
Francs-Tireurs	Claudius Gandolin Jean-Jacques
Ceux de la Libération	Mayoux Ribière
OCM	Prigent
Front National de Corse	Giovoni
Trade Unions	
CGT	Bouzanquet Buisson Croizat Fayet Gazier Laurent
CFTC	Francke Poimboeuf
Political Parties	
Socialists	Blanc Bloch Bosman Bouzanquet Buisson Costa Evrard Froment Gazier Mistral Moch Vallon

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[1] Party affiliations are given for those who represent Resistance, as well as for the actual party spokesman.

Political Parties	Members
Radical-Socialists	Astier
	Cot
	Muselli
	Rencurel
	Rucart
Communists	Bonte
	Croziat
	Marty
	Mercier
	Pourtalet
Christian Democrats	Francke
	Hauriou
	Poimboeuf
	Viard
SFIO [Left]	Auriol
	Gouin
Center Radical [Right]	Duclos
USR [Left]	Lapie
"Moderate" Socialist [Left]	Laurent
Groupe Agraire [Right]	Antier

Extra-Metropolitan Resistance

North Africa	
Morocco	d'Astier de la Vigerie
	Aurange
	Parent
Tunisia	Costa
	Debiesse
	Dubanquet
Algeria	Tubert
Colonies	
French West Africa	(Bissagnet)*
French Equatorial Africa	Seignon
Cameroun	Guillery
Madagascar	Girot
Martinique	Des Etages
Indo-China	Bourgoin
New Caledonia	Gervolino
French Committees Abroad	
England	Boillot
Canada	Mme. Simard
U.S.A.	Perrin
South America	Guérin
Egypt	Carrière
Fighting French	de Boissoudy
	Cassin

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*Deceased, August 1944.

Resistance, but not identified with special groups	Members
	Aubrac
	Clavier
	Dalsace
	Hervé
	Maillot
	Pagès
	Viard
French Parliamentarian Membership	
Senators	Astier
	Rucart
Deputies	Auriol
	Bloch
	Bonte
	Cot
	Gouin
	Lapie
	Marty
	Moch
General Councils: Membership	
North Africa	
Algiers	Duclos
	Rencurel
Constantine	Bendjelloul
	Cuttoli
Oran	Blanc
	Musolli
Colonies	
West Africa	Fall
Guadeloupe	Valentino
French Indies	Zivarattinam
La Reunion	de Villele
Guiana	Darnal
Martinique	Des Etages

Table 9. PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND OF CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY MEMBERSHIP

Profession	Number of members
Members of Parliament	
Senators (3)	
Deputies (18)	21
Professors, intellectuals	10
Trade Union leaders	11
Local politicians (municipal councillors general councillors)	10
Colonists, businessmen in colonies	4
Technicians, engineers, public servants	6
Army	4
Lawyers	1
Priests	1
Skilled workers	1
Newspapermen	2
Unidentified	18
TOTAL	89